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REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON HIS MISSION OF GOOD OFFICES IN CYPRUS

1. The present report on my mission of good offices concerning Cyprus is being submitted pursuant to the request by the members of the Security Council to provide a full report by the end of August on the substance of the ideas that were discussed and the responses of all concerned, and to provide my assessment of the situation, particularly with regard to whether the conditions are conducive to a successful outcome of a high-level international meeting (S/22744). As the members of the Council are aware, I postponed my presentation of this report until the completion of the two rounds of talks between my representatives and the two parties in Cyprus and Greece and Turkey.

2. In my oral statement of 27 June 1991 to the Security Council, I referred to the discussions that had taken place since the latter part of 1990 with the leaders of the two communities as well as with a senior official of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I recalled that the purpose of those discussions had been to explore ideas that could bring the two sides within agreement range on each of the eight headings of the outline of an overall agreement. I expressed the view that as a result of those discussions clarifications had emerged that should make it possible to advance under a number of headings, notably overall objectives of the agreement, guiding principles of the federation and security and guarantee. I also noted that several headings remained to be dealt with, notably territorial adjustments and displaced persons. I concluded that if it was possible to move forward on the outstanding headings an agreed outline should be within reach.

3. As I informed the Security Council, as part of my effort to find a way to move forward, I had a telephone conversation with President Ozal of Turkey towards the end of May. He told me that after reviewing the outcome of recent talks he was of the view that a meeting of the leaders of the two communities, Greece and Turkey, under my chairmanship could give new and strong impetus to my efforts and help the two sides reach agreement on an outline of an overall agreement. In my statement of 27 June, I informed the Council that I was attracted by the idea of a high-level international meeting that would result in an agreed outline provided it was thoroughly prepared to ensure its success. To that end, I proposed that my representatives undertake two rounds of discussions with all concerned in July and August to work out a set of

ideas that would bring the two sides within agreement range on all of the headings. I proposed to review the situation at the conclusion of the second round at the end of August to assess whether the conditions were ripe to proceed to a high-level meeting and to consult the Council accordingly. That approach was endorsed by the members of the Council in the statement issued by its President on 28 June 1991 (S/22744).

4. During my visit to Turkey in early July, I discussed the Cyprus problem and my approach for proceeding with Prime Minister Yilmaz and President Ozal on 7 and 8 July respectively. Both the President and the Prime Minister agreed that it was important to make a strong and renewed effort during the remainder of my mandate and they assured me of their desire to help me in this endeavour.

5. During a visit to Greece and Turkey in mid-July, President Bush of the United States of America spoke with Prime Minister Mitsotakis, President Ozal and Prime Minister Yilmaz in support of my mission of good offices on Cyprus. On 2 August, it was announced that Greece and Turkey had agreed to attend a well-prepared meeting concerning Cyprus chaired by the Secretary-General and that the Greek and Turkish leaders would work in support of the Secretary-General's efforts to narrow the differences in advance of such a meeting, which was planned for September, provided adequate progress was made. On 5 August, I made a public statement welcoming the personal effort by President Bush in support of my mission of good offices and the commitment of the Greek and Turkish leaders to help me make progress in advance of a high-level meeting.

6. As the members of the Security Council will recall, during the second half of 1990 and the first quarter of 1991 my representatives had a number of separate meetings with the leaders of the two communities and their representatives to explore elements of an outline of an overall agreement. In addition, between October 1990 and February 1991, one of my representatives had a series of discussions with a senior official of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This process proved helpful in putting together an initial set of ideas and provided the starting point for the discussions during the summer.

7. During the first round, my representatives met with senior Turkish and Greek officials at Ankara from 23 to 26 July and at Athens on 27 and 28 July respectively, and separately with the two leaders at Nicosia from 29 July to 3 August. They presented ideas for each of the headings (except transitional arrangements), taking into account the above-mentioned previous discussions and attempting to respond to the legitimate interests and reasonable concerns of both parties. In areas where during the previous discussions the two sides appeared to be relatively close, the ideas were elaborated fully. This was particularly the case for the overall objectives of an agreement, the guiding principles of the federation, the powers and functions of the federal government, the federal legislature, the federal judiciary, and security and guarantee. In areas that had not yet been adequately discussed, a variety of options were presented to stimulate discussion. I am referring in particular to displaced persons, the federal executive and territorial adjustments.

8. During the first round, the complete text of the ideas was discussed fully at Ankara, Athens and separately with the two sides in Cyprus. In Nicosia, my representatives also informed the two sides of their respective reactions to the various ideas. The objective of that process was not to obtain their approval but to seek their reactions and suggestions on the basis of which those ideas would be further elaborated and amended for the second round of talks.

9. During the first half of August, the ideas were revised in the light of the previous discussions. Concrete ideas were elaborated in the areas that had previously contained options (displaced persons, territorial adjustments and the federal executive). In addition, ideas on transitional arrangements and goodwill measures that would be implemented during the transitional period were also prepared.

10. The objective of the second round of talks was to seek broad agreement of the two sides to a set of ideas that would bring them within agreement range and thereby make possible a high-level international meeting.

11. My representatives began the second round of talks on 17 August at Athens, where they reviewed the outcome of the July talks and the most recent text of ideas with Foreign Minister Samaras and other senior officials of the Ministry. The Minister indicated that he was encouraged with the way the talks were proceeding and expressed the hope that the high-level meeting could be held in September as tentatively planned.

12. They then had meetings at Ankara from 21 to 24 August. In addition to reviewing the situation with Foreign Minister Giray, they had intensive discussions with senior Foreign Ministry officials during which they considered in detail the text of the ideas covering each of the eight headings of the agreement. The Turkish officials reiterated their desire to work in support of my effort and their wish that the high-level meeting take place in September. These discussions proved most helpful in refining the text of the ideas. At the conclusion of the talks, it was apparent that, although the two sides in Cyprus remained apart on some issues and the territorial adjustments still had to be further defined, the revised text of ideas that had emerged from the talks at Ankara represented an important step forward which should provide the basis on which an agreement could be worked out.

13. On 26 August, my representatives stopped over at Athens to meet Prime Minister Mitsotakis, with whom they reviewed the ideas that would be discussed with the two sides in Cyprus. The Prime Minister conveyed his full support of my effort.

14. My representatives had separate meetings with the leaders of the two communities in Cyprus from 26 to 29 August and again from 7 to 14 September, during which they presented to the two leaders the full text of the ideas on each of the eight headings and accompanying goodwill measures and elicited their views.

15. Both leaders agreed that in view of the comprehensive manner in which the ideas had been elaborated it would be possible to omit the preparation of an outline of an agreement and to proceed directly to completing an overall framework agreement. In addition, it was agreed that the preparation of the agreement should be essentially completed to the satisfaction of both sides before convening the high-level meeting. These understandings had also been endorsed by Greece and Turkey.

16. President Vassiliou's reaction to the ideas revealed that although differences remained to be resolved on a number of issues, the set of ideas as a whole provided the basis for working out an overall framework agreement.

17. In the course of the discussions with His Excellency Mr. Denktaş, he stated that each side possessed sovereignty which it would retain after the establishment of a federation, including the right of secession, and sought extensive changes in the text of the ideas that were discussed.

Observations

18. As I had reminded the two leaders in my statement of 2 March 1990 (see S/21183, annex II), in paragraph 1 of resolution 367 (1975) the Security Council had called upon all States and the parties concerned to refrain from any action that might prejudice the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, as well as from any attempt at partition of the island or its unification with any other country. In drawing up the mandate of the Secretary-General's mission of good offices on Cyprus, the Security Council thus posited a solution based on the existence of one State of Cyprus comprising two communities.

19. Consequently, the introduction of the concept referred to in paragraph 17 would in this context fundamentally alter the nature of the solution provided for in the 1977 and 1979 high-level agreements and which the Security Council has consistently foreseen, most recently in resolution 649 (1990).

20. Deriving from the position of the Security Council, which it has reiterated in successive resolutions, the 1977 and 1979 high-level agreements between the two parties in Cyprus and the understandings accepted by both sides (see S/21393, para. 12), the objective of my mission of good offices has been to preserve the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the State of Cyprus; and to establish a new constitutional arrangement for the State of Cyprus that would regulate the relations of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities on a federal, bi-communal and bi-zonal basis. Each community has been participating in this process on an equal footing and will have the opportunity to express separately its consent to the arrangements reached.

21. The developments of the past few months had raised justifiable expectations that significant progress would be made and that a high-level meeting would take place in September to conclude an overall framework

agreement. The set of ideas that my representatives brought to Cyprus at the end of August represent an important step forward which must be preserved and used as the basis for completing the overall framework agreement.

22. It is important that the expectations that were raised over the past few months not be lost. This requires that we proceed without delay to conclude the preparatory work and to convene the high-level meeting. I will therefore request my representatives to resume in early November their discussions with the two sides in Cyprus and Greece and Turkey to finalize the set of ideas . If this effort can proceed in keeping with the basic principles adopted by the Security Council and accepted by the two sides in the 1977 and 1979 high-level agreements, I am confident that it will be possible to convene the high-level meeting before the end of this year.

23. At the same time, I must again appeal to both sides to refrain from making statements or taking actions that are counter-productive and only make our effort to find a solution more difficult.